



Natalia Trotsky
1882-1962

"A Heroic Woman"

By George Lavan

Natalia Ivanovna Sedova, Leon Trotsky's widow, who died at Corbeil, France, on Jan. 23, was born in Romni, a small town in the Poltava region of the Ukraine, in the year 1882. She was one of six children of Ivan Sedov and Olga Kolchevsky. Her mother was of the minor nobility; her father, of Cossack stock, managed a factory owned by relatives. From the age of eight when she was orphaned, Natalia was raised by relatives.

Natalia's rebelliousness manifested itself early. In boarding school in Kharkov she helped with secret collections of money to aid political prisoners, urged her fellow students to read "subversive" literature, and reputedly organized a classroom demonstration.

Student Movement

From Kharkov she went to the University for Women in Moscow where she joined a Social-Democratic student group. Thereafter she continued her education abroad. Here is how she once briefly summarized it:

"It was during my adolescence, in the last years of the past century, that I became acquainted with 'revolutionary ideas,' which, in old Imperial Russia, often were only those of Western liberalism. I was at boarding school in Kharkov. We organized some evening get-togethers of students and there I met young people already initiated into the world of ideas; they brought us illegal pamphlets which denounced the sufferings of the Russian people and foretold the conquest of liberty. . . .

"My preparatory studies completed, I wanted, like many others, to breathe the air of free countries and I went to Geneva [Switzerland] to take courses at the Faculty of Natural Sciences there . . . I was interested in botany in particular and even more in social problems, especially after the prison suicide by fire of Vietrova, a girl student, which had greatly affected the student youth.

"Plekhanov, the Marxist the-

oretician, had an important circle of students into which I had the good fortune to be introduced by a young militant of the *Iskra* group, of which Lenin was one of the moving spirits . . . The Russian Social-Democracy, not yet split into Mensheviks [minority] and Bolsheviks [majority], had groups — in Geneva, Paris, London and Brussels — which were studious, enthusiastic and fraternal."

The principal object of the Geneva study circle was to prepare members for participation in underground work in Russia. At the age of 19 Natalia successfully carried out her first assignment of this type — transporting illegal literature from Switzerland into Russia. After this secret mission she went to Paris and there was active in the *Iskra* group. Among other duties, she headed the committee whose duty it was to welcome newcomers, find them lodgings and orient them in the city. This was how she met the man

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Negroes Wage Bus Boycott in Albany, Georgia

ALBANY, Ga., Jan. 23 — Negroes in this South Georgia city were asked tonight at mass meetings that overflowed two churches, to boycott the city's buses and downtown stores. The boycott call was made by leaders of the Albany Movement — the group that initiated the anti-segregation demonstrations in December in which 700 persons were arrested. The city commission today rejected a request that city officials live up to the agreement that halted those demonstrations.

[A Jan. 28 *New York Times* report says that a check made after the meetings showed the bus boycott to be effective and that "scores of" automobiles packed with Negroes passed the intersection checked. Some of them were driven by volunteers in a car pool, which was organized by the Albany Movement with the help of Charles Jones, a field worker for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.]

Negro leaders had asked the city to end discrimination in public facilities, to honor the ruling of the Interstate Commerce Commission desegregating bus stations, and to return money paid by Albanians for bail during the mass arrests in December.

Appearing before the city council with the request were Albany Movement president Dr. W. G. Anderson, Executive Secretary Marion S. Page, Slater King, and Attorney C. B. King. Also present was James Foreman, Executive Secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

At the mass meetings, SNCC Field Secretary Charles Sherrod asked the Negroes to "remember Miss Ola Mae Quarterman when you think about riding a bus."

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Justice — How it Works Down in Georgia, USA

SAVANNAH, Ga., Jan. 26 — The NAACP announced this week that it will file a formal complaint with the U.S. Department of Justice for a full investigation of the police killing of an unarmed Negro.

Chatham County Patrolman C. L. Goolsby was cleared in police court here last week of the slaying of Arthur James Jan. 6 in the Safari restaurant. Goolsby and officer C. L. Dffenberfer said James was armed with a stool when they entered the restaurant. This followed an incident outside during which, they said, James stood up for another Negro.

Eight witnesses who were in the restaurant testified that James had his hands over his head and was retreating when the officers fired one shot each.

Castro's Views on 'Peaceful Coexistence'

Fidel Castro was interviewed Jan. 16 by newspapermen from various parts of the world attending a Havana meeting of the International Organization of Journalists. The questions covered a wide range of subjects. Of particular interest are the views he expressed about the impact in Latin America of his recent declaration of adherence to Marxism-Leninism; the prospect of the Latin American revolution; and his concept of the policy of peaceful coexistence — a subject now under debate throughout the international radical movement.

The following are excerpts from the interview translated from the Jan. 18 issue of the Havana daily, *Revolucion*.

Question: In Mexico it is said that when you declared yourself a Marxist-Leninist many friends

of the Cuban revolution who think differently were lost. What is your opinion of this . . . ?

Answer: . . . the revolution is aided by all sections of the left and progressive forces in Latin America. It is possible that in some of these — not in the sections themselves, but among some members of these sections — it may have aroused some concern, springing fundamentally from the already existing divisions between the sections of the left.

But, on the other hand, a positive reaction was observable soon after in all these sections because anti-imperialist thinking has increased greatly in Latin America; the consciousness of the masses has matured greatly; and there are many sections of the left that have a consistent anti-imperialist and revolutionary position.

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U.S. Won Hollow "Victory" Over Cuba at OAS Parley

By Harry Ring

State Department handouts and pro-administration newspaper headlines to the contrary, Washington won itself a dangerously hollow victory when it jammed its anti-Cuba resolution through the meeting of the OAS council of foreign ministers.

The resolution itself is a truly obscene piece of hypocrisy. It brands the Cuban government — which smashed the Batista dictatorship that the U.S. kept in power for long years — as a threat to "the freedom of man." It further asserts that Cuba's liberating socialist revolution endangers "peace" and "democracy" in the hemisphere. This from a government that uses guns and dollars to maintain dictators in at least a half dozen Latin-American countries; a government that flouted all existing law — including the statutes of the OAS — by organizing the armed invasion of Cuba.

A single brief news dispatch completely exposes the degree of concern for democracy there is among those who participated in the brutal gang-up on Cuba. Dated Jan. 29, it was a *Reuters* dispatch from Guatemala which is ruled by strongman Ydigoras, fervent U.S. ally in preserving "the rights of man." The dispatch said: "The newspaper *Prensa Libre* said today the leaders of all opposition Guatemalan political parties were exiled from the country yesterday."

Needless to say, there was no comment from Dean Rusk. He was wrapped up in what various press dispatches called "frantic" and "hectic" efforts to line up the governments of Latin America for a concerted attack on "totalitarian" Cuba.

But Rusk achieved far less than he aimed for at Punta del Este. And in securing what little he did, the U.S. was further exposed before the people of Latin America as an arrogant imperialist power bent on destroying the one government on the continent which puts human rights before property rights.

The State Department had originally demanded that the meeting expel Cuba from the OAS and impose mandatory diplomatic

and economic sanctions against it by all Latin American governments.

This "tough" stand was motivated by two considerations: When the CIA led the invasion of Cuba last year it was painfully apparent that the U.S. was completely alone in that act of criminal intervention. It now seeks to create the appearance of popular hemispheric support for future aggression against Cuba. In addition, the Kennedy administration felt the urgent need to rebut charges from the domestic ultra-right that it's incapable of smashing the Cuban revolution. Neither aim was accomplished at Punta del Este.

Six Latin American governments — representing nearly 150 million of Latin America's 200 million people — refused to go along. And it was all too clear that their refusal to do so was motivated not by any sympathy for the Cuban revolution but by fear of major domestic repercussions if they openly yielded to the dictate of U.S. imperialism.

The resolution had to be pared down to one that calls upon the council of the OAS to affect the "exclusion" (even the word "ex-

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Canadians to Back Monroe Defendants

JAN. 30 — Canadians are planning to picket the U.S. Consulate in Toronto on Feb. 19 to protest the framed-up "kidnap" trial scheduled to open that day in Monroe, North Carolina.

Canadians feel a particular interest in the case because Robert F. Williams, NAACP leader from Monroe and one of those who faces the "kidnap" charge, was the object of an intense manhunt in Canada last September before he escaped to Cuba where he has been granted political asylum.

In a sermon last month at the First Unitarian Church of Toronto, Rev. John H. Morgan told of a conversation he had with Williams in the spring of 1961.

"As I sat talking with Robert Williams," he said, "I thought of the long, sad story of struggle for human freedom all around the world . . . and of the unsung heroes who have laid down their lives for their persecuted brethren. It is to this band of leaders that a man such as Robert Williams belongs, and I am chagrined that any Canadian investigative agency could be innocently trapped into an attempt to search out such a man."

At another meeting addressed by Rev. Morgan Jan. 30, a number of Canadians announced their intention to picket the U.S. Consulate the day the trial began.

The Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants is making an urgent appeal for contributions to defray the heavy costs of the Feb. 19 trials which are scheduled for three of the defendants — a white Freedom Rider from New York and two Negro youths from Monroe. All contributions and communications should be addressed to: CAMD, Suite 1117, 141 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y.

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New York Fair Play Rally Condemns U.S. Role at OAS

NEW YORK, Jan. 30 — More than 500 people attended a Fair Play for Cuba Committee rally here last night to protest U.S. anti-Cuba moves at the OAS. But their enthusiasm bore all the earmarks of a victory celebration as the speakers cited Secretary of State Rusk's frustrations at the conference.

The rally was chaired by FPCC acting executive secretary Richard Gibson. The speakers were journalist William Worthy, Cuban-American community leader Julio Medina, and civil liberties spokesman Corliss Lamont.

Loud cries of *Viva Cuba* and cheers for "Fidel" rang through the hall when Medina, leader in this country of the July 26 Move-

ment which recently disbanded under federal pressure, addressed the audience both in English and Spanish and declared that "the majority of people in Latin America are against sanctions."

Worthy, who recently returned from Cuba, scored those liberals and radicals — naming the Americans for Democratic Action and the Socialist Party — who try to "straddle the Cuban issue." He declared that defense of Cuba was a key test of capacity to fight for social progress in this country.

Reporting the shortage of medical supplies in Cuba resulting from an unofficial boycott by U.S. suppliers, he predicted that the Kennedy administration would impose an official embargo on drugs and urged the audience to support efforts to send needed medicines there despite a possible ban.

Lamont declared that it was the U.S. which should be expelled from the OAS because of its aborted April 1961 invasion of Cuba which "violated OAS statutes, the United Nation's charter and every moral and ethical law."

The rally unanimously approved a telegram to OAS delegates from countries resisting the sanctions demand, urging them to "stand firm against the government that seeks to destroy the rights of governments to determine their own destiny."

... Bus Boycott

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Miss Quarterman was arrested three weeks ago when she took a front seat on a city bus.

[The *Times* dispatch reported Miss Quarterman said the driver ordered her to the rear of the bus and she "replied, 'I paid my damned 20 cents, and I'll sit where I please.'"]

Sherrod and Jones had themselves been arrested Jan. 18 when they took seats in the Trailways Bus Terminal lunch room in Albany after purchasing tickets. The arrest was in violation of the Federal ICC ruling.

SNCC has strongly criticized the United States Justice Department for failing to enforce the ICC ruling in South Georgia. On Jan. 22, the day before the Albany bus boycott began, Charles McDew, SNCC chairman, called upon Attorney General Robert Kennedy to issue an "immediate injunction against the state of Georgia," prohibiting the state from prosecuting Jones and Sherrod.

LEESBURG, Ga., Jan. 24 — More than 1,000 parents and members of the Lee County Training School PTA met at the school auditorium last night and voted unanimously to continue a boycott of the school. The boycott began when a 16-year-old honor student, Charles Wingfield, was suspended after he demanded better equipment for the Negro institution.

JAN 31 — The student protest movement at Southern University in Baton Rouge, backed by the Congress of Racial Equality, is planning a daily schedule of activities to put pressure on the school administration for the readmission of almost 50 students who have been suspended or expelled for participation in anti-segregation demonstrations.

Fifty students picketed on the campus today. More than 500 students later attended a rally at which a boycott of classes was proposed.

Weekly Calendar

DETROIT

A Marxist analysis of current events around the world. Fri., Feb. 9, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

A Scientist Views the Bomb. Effects of the recent Soviet tests and the meaning of a U.S. test resumption. Speaker, David Dreiser. Fri., Feb. 9, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

Hear 3 Defendants in Monroe Kidnap Frame-up, plus civil-rights attorney Conrad Lynn and journalist William Worthy at protest rally Thur., Feb. 15, 8:30 p.m. Riverside Plaza Hotel, 237 West 73rd St. (Off Broadway.) Aup. Committee to Aid Monroe Defendants.

N.Y. Hospital Union Rallies Forces for Organizing Drive

By Fred Halstead

Backed by a solid strike victory — won on militant picket lines strengthened by Freedom Riders — the New York hospital workers union Local 1199, AFL-CIO, is preparing an intensified organizing campaign.

The victory came Jan. 12 after a 10-day strike against an attempt by the Flower-Fifth Avenue hospital to lock out the union. The Jan. 25 issue of 1199 *Hospital News* reports: "On the picket lines every morning were a group of Freedom Riders mobilized by Mary Hamilton, field representative for CORE. Many were among the 27 arrested during the strike. Miss Hamilton spoke at the Stewards Council meeting Jan. 9, declaring that the fight of hospital workers in New York, most of them Negroes and Puerto Ricans, 'is part and parcel of the fight that CORE is putting up for freedom in the south, and that is why we are with you in your struggle.'"

Several of those participating, including Miss Hamilton, were veterans of the Jackson Freedom Ride and had done time in the Mississippi state prison.

When the hospital announced late in 1961 that work performed by 1199 members would be contracted out as of Jan. 1, few observers thought the union could win the struggle to maintain its tenuous hold in Flower-Fifth. The hospital is one of seven in which Local 1199 had organized the cleaning and dietary workers but had not yet won a contract.

The appearance of the Freedom Riders and supporting unionists on the picket line Jan. 2 heartened the strikers and the line exploded into unexpected militancy. The strike then made the front pages of the newspapers and attracted widespread sympathy. The final settlement included a small raise and a union-shop contract for the cleaning workers. This was more than the union's original demands, which were simply reinstatement of the workers and recognition of their right to belong to the union.

Local 1199 has called a general membership meeting for Feb. 1 to "rally for tough fights ahead," and has set a Feb. 12 deadline for a strike for union recognition and a wage raise at Beth El Hospital in Brooklyn.

... OAS Parley

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pulsion" was dropped) from the resolution. This will mean further months of embarrassing debate and arm-twisting for the State Department. The pretense of "hemispheric unity" against Cuba has been shattered. The major governments of Latin America have been further antagonized. And the right wing here has been given new ammunition for branding the administration an organizer of "fiascos."

For example the Republican *New York Herald Tribune*, Jan. 31, offered this estimate: "Bitter debate that stretched into a talkathon in Punta del Este added up to a net loss for the U.S. We wanted a big stick policy administered by 20 foreign ministers against Castro communism. . . . We didn't get what we wanted, to quarantine Communist-dominated Cuba. The best we could work out was a weary compromise."

But the essential point was made in a Jan. 29 declaration to the conference by Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticos who declared: "You may put us out of the OAS, but the United States will continue to have a revolutionary and socialist Cuba 90 miles from its shores."

... Castro's Views on 'Coexistence'

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ment of unity and cohesion because of the crystallization of support to the Cuban revolution — the revolution that is a visible reality — with all the benefits that it has brought to our people. . . .

Thus, confronting the divisionist politics of imperialism, the Cuban revolution, and the definition of the Cuban revolution, creates a tendency to surmount prejudices, to promote broad, not sectarian, policies among all sections of the left, and the formation of united fronts for action by all sections of the left.

Q. It has been said that the example of Cuba has put imperialism on its guard about what happens when a people win their liberation. It has also been said that there are nations in Latin America that have a special importance for imperialism, as in my country [Venezuela] where imperialism has great quantities of strategic materials like oil and iron. . . . It appears that imperialism will not hesitate to launch a major attack against the next country which has a victorious revolutionary movement. . . . Are the external conditions sufficiently mature and strong to support a victorious revolution in another Latin American country?

A. . . . The action of imperialism is not the same in one situation as in another. It is not the same thing to invade and occupy a territory where a government has been established and is recognized internationally as it is to act against a movement in its initial stages, as in Algeria or South Vietnam. Then the intervention is more direct and has fewer obstacles to overcome. . . .

We understand that in the long run they [the imperialists] won't be able to free themselves from their own politics and, in the long run, they will fall into this situation [of intervention]. But when they do they will be in a condition of desperation because the consequences of the struggle, the tremendous impact that it will have in the United States itself, will not be long in producing deep repercussions in that society which is living at present in relative abundance. . . .

In these circumstances the contradictions and internal crises will intensify. The struggle of the imperialists to halt the liberation of the peoples of Latin America is going to produce qualitative changes in the United States itself and in the attitude of the people toward the policies of the monopolists. . . .

Therefore one has to rely on the continuation of the struggle. Liberation is not won by passive means. It is won by fighting. It is won by confronting the rich and having faith in the real correlation of forces that exists in the world and having faith in the support and solidarity of all the peoples of the world.

Q. (Delegate from Italy) Dr. Castro. . . . Is the struggle for coexistence a question of tactics in the struggle against imperialism or a permanent strategy of the workers' movement? Do you think that socialism can win — not only in some countries, but throughout the world — through the stable means of peaceful coexisting that will erase war forever from the lives of humanity?

A. I do not believe. . . . that peaceful coexistence is a question of tactics. Peaceful coexistence is simply — as you say — a correct strategy. But there is something else. Peaceful coexistence is truly a necessity for humanity. That is to say, it is necessary at all costs to avoid an atomic world war because of the catastrophic consequences it would bring all humanity. Therefore it is a question of principle, a line that meets the needs and hopes of humanity, and it is correct politically. It is the politics of socialism, whose econ-

omy does not need wars, colonies or redivision of the world. . . . The politics of peace and peaceful coexistence is, in all senses, the politics of socialism.

Now, the politics of peaceful coexistence is coexistence between states. That does not mean coexistence between classes. That is to say I do not mean. . . . coexistence between the exploiters and the exploited. It would be impossible to have coexistence between the exploited masses of Latin America and the Yankee monopolists. It would be impossible to have coexistence with these monopolists and with the big exploiting bourgeoisie and the great landlords, who are allies of the Yankee imperialists. . . .

The class struggle will exist as long as capitalist and imperialist regimes exist because the class struggle is a natural consequence of the socio-economic system, of the existence of the great working masses confronting a minority that owns the riches and the means of production.

That is to say, the class struggle will exist as long as capitalism exists. The international class struggle between the exploited masses and the monopolists will exist so long as imperialism exists. This is absolutely independent of the politics of peaceful coexistence of states with different economic and social regimes.

That is to say, for instance, Cuba could have maintained, and should maintain, peaceful coexistence with Venezuela. Cuba would have maintained its relations with Venezuela, and even without diplomatic relations it should and will maintain peaceful coexistence with Venezuela. Now, this peaceful coexistence between the government of Cuba and the government of Venezuela does not mean peaceful coexistence between the working masses of Venezuela and the Standard Oil Company, Shell, Esso, the monopolies. It does not mean coexistence between the workers and peasants of Venezuela and the big exploiting bourgeoisie allied to these interests.

There can and there should be peaceful coexistence between states. But that is independent of the class struggle within each country.

Illinois Students Stage 57-Hour Peace Vigil

CARBONDALE, Ill., Jan. 29 — Members of the Southern Illinois University Student Peace Union (SPU) began a 57-hour vigil today in support of the "World Wide General Strike For Peace" movement.

The SIU-SPU has called upon all students and area residents to join in the vigil which will be conducted on the campus in daytime and in downtown Carbondale at night. Participation in the "General Strike" is the first of a series of actions planned by the SIU-SPU directed toward informing the public of the dangers of continuing the arms race.

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Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

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Your Help Is Needed

There are many claims on American workers for support to hard-pressed, worthy causes here at home. The extent of solidarity shown in response to appeals frequently determines the victory or defeat in a strike, a civil-rights struggle or a civil-liberties case. But Americans owe a debt of international solidarity as well.

On the international scene no situation calls out with such need and urgency as that of the Algerian people. For seven years they have been suffering the onslaughts of the French army, which has embraced all the techniques of torture and reprisal formerly used by the Nazis, because of their determination to be free.

The casualties, mass imprisonments, tortures and economic disaster in which the Algerians are being made to pay for their stubborn struggle has been concealed from the American public by a press which, faithful to Washington directives, sides with or covers up for French imperialism.

We have recently received two urgent appeals for help to the Algerians and herewith recommend them to our readers, urging that "in the name of international solidarity, elementary justice and humanity every effort be made to respond."

From Paris has come a letter from the newly formed Solidarity Committee for Victims of the Repression in the Algerian War. Its president is Professor Laurent Schwartz and its sponsors include such eminent and honorable names as Simone de Beauvoir, Claude Bourdet, Jean-Paul Sartre, Vercors and many others.

The letter tells how the thousands of Algerians in French prisons have won the status of political prisoners as a result of their heroic 21-day hunger strike. This new status entitles each to receive a food package four times a year. But for most this is a theoretical right since their families are either destroyed, dispersed, impoverished or herded into "regroupment camps" in Algeria. Regarding themselves as prisoners of war, these prisoners disdain official charity but will gratefully accept packages from friends or sympathizers of their struggle.

The Solidarity Committee has undertaken to send 11-pound packages to each of the Algerian detainees in the prisons in France and concentration camps in Algeria. The next date on which they will be allowed to receive such packages is March 6 (end of Moslem holidays of Ramadan); the other dates are Easter, July 14 and Christmas. A package costs 30 new francs, about \$6.10 American. Inform the Solidarity Committee if it should put your name on the package as sender when you make a donation. Checks and money orders can be sent to: M. Albert Roux, 30 rue Lecourbe, Paris XV, France.

The second appeal comes from Morocco where masses of Algerian refugees are living without sufficient food or clothing in improvised tents. Particularly heart-rending is the plight of the war orphans and children of refugees. Despite the monumental efforts of the FLN (National Liberation Front of Algeria) and the self-sacrificing teachers (volunteers from Europe and Algeria), undernourished, poorly clad children must trudge miles in the bitter cold weather to makeshift schools which often lack books, pencils, paper, etc.

These victims of a bestial colonial war need massive aid — money, medicines, clothing, powdered milk, etc. Such aid should be sent to the Algerian union federation whose address is: UGTA, 30 Avenue Temara, Rabat, Morocco.

New Threat to Press Freedom

The Justice Department, under Attorney General Robert Kennedy, has begun an ominous move against such freedom of the press as exists in the United States. The publishers and several staff members of the newspaper, *The Worker*, have been subpoenaed to appear before a federal grand jury in Washington, D.C. The publisher's representative was scheduled to appear Feb. 1.

The subpoenas, according to the Jan. 21 issue of *The Worker*, were issued under the sections of the McCarran Act requiring the labeling of literature of "Communist Action" or "Communist Front" organizations, denying tax exemptions to such organizations, denying passports to members, and requiring the registration of members.

The outrageous McCarran Act — the first law in U.S. history which in effect outlaws a political party — is now being invoked to outlaw a newspaper. The paper's editor, James E. Jackson, after the subpoenas were issued, said: "*The Worker* will fight any restrictions upon its right to publish and its right to the market place of ideas, and will not submit to any discriminatory, unconstitutional labeling."

This fight should be supported by all those loyal to the First Amendment and freedom of the press. In addition, a solid front against these repressive measures, and in defense of their victims, should be forged by all the left-wing forces in the country, whether they sympathize with the editorial policies of *The Worker* or not. The weapon of suppression is being tested on *The Worker* for use at a later date against any organs which may challenge the reactionary policies of the government.

... The Life of Natalia Trotsky

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whose life would thereafter be indissolubly linked with hers.

"In 1902," she relates, "I was living in Paris. I ate at an apartment on Rue Lalande, where to live more cheaply we pooled our resources. Julius Martov came there. Twenty-nine years old, he was already known as one of the founders of the first Russian Social-Democratic groups and one of the veterans of the terrible Siberian exile at Turukhansk... It was he who announced to us one day at the table the arrival of a young escapee from Siberia... and Leon Davidovitch [Trotsky] came to Rue Lalande the very day of his arrival in Paris. He was 23 years old; he had just spent three years in exile in eastern Siberia. His vitality, lively spirit and capacity for work had already led to his recognition as an energetic and mature personality.

Baudelaire's Grave

"He had little interest in Paris at that time. 'Odessa is better!' he cried jokingly. He was especially occupied with getting to know the socialist movement among the Russian emigrés. But we chanced to go together to look at Baudelaire's grave which is to be seen behind the wall of Montparnasse cemetery... From that period my life did not separate from his. We lived on Rue Gassendi in those airy neighborhoods that our emigrés loved so. From my family I received some 20 rubles, which was about 50 francs, a month. Leon Davidovitch made as much from writing for publications: that gave us a very slender budget, but in Paris we had the good comradeship of the refugees, the endless thought about Russia, the great ideas for which we were living..."

She and Trotsky were living in Geneva in 1905 when news came of the Jan. 22 massacre of workers petitioning the Czar at his winter palace. Trotsky sensed that this was the beginning of a revolution and the couple made immediate plans for return to Russia. Natalia went ahead to make arrangements and secure secret lodgings. The May Day meetings of the workers in St. Petersburg had to be held secretly in the forests. But the one which Natalia had been assigned to speak at was surrounded by Cossacks and she and several others were arrested. After some months in prison she was exiled to Tver, but the progress of the Revolution forced an amnesty and she and Trotsky, who had been hiding in Finland (then a Russian province), reunited in Petersburg.

President of Soviet

The Czarist reaction smashed the Revolution in December 1905. The trial of 51 leading members of the Soviet, with Trotsky, as president, at their head, took place the following October. During his imprisonment Natalia bore their first son, Leon Sedov. Like most of the defendants, Trotsky was sentenced to life-exile in Siberia and sent off to Otdorsk, above the arctic circle. He quickly made a celebrated escape — traversing some 700 kilometers by reindeer sled — and secretly met Natalia in Finland. They lived underground in Finland and St. Petersburg while the reactionary press raged at the police for letting him escape. The appearance of his little book, *Going and Returning*, added fuel to the flames but brought in enough money to make possible his escape from Russia via Sweden. Natalia and the child soon joined him abroad, settling in Vienna where a second son, Sergey was born in 1908.

With the outbreak of the first imperialist world war, which he bitterly opposed, Trotsky and his family were ordered out of Austria. They went to France where the Czarist ambassador finally



Natalia Trotsky during the first years of her exile.

prevailed on the government to expel the dangerous revolutionary. Refused entry by Britain, Italy and Switzerland, he was dumped over the Spanish border by the French police. Jailed in Spain as a "dangerous anarchist," he was released as a result of agitation by Spanish republicans and allowed to embark at Barcelona, where Natalia and the children had caught up with him, for the United States.

Two months after the family had settled in a flat in the Bronx, with Trotsky working on the Russian socialist paper, *Novy Mir*, which was published in New York, news came of the outbreak of the revolution against the Czar. It took several weeks to get the necessary documents to travel back to Russia and on March 27, showered with wishes of bon voyage and flowers by the Russian socialist colony in New York, the Trotskys left the U.S.

October Revolution

In the months which preceded the Bolshevik or October Revolution, Natalia was a propagandist and educational officer in the trade unions of Petrograd (as St. Petersburg had been renamed).

After the October Revolution she worked in the Commissariat of Public Education where she was in charge of preserving museums, art treasures and historical monuments from the ravages of revolution and civil war. In this period the Trotskys lived in the Kremlin sharing a bathroom and dining room with Lenin and his wife, Krupskaya.

The degeneration of the revolution, giving greater and greater power to the increasingly privileged bureaucracy and its leader, Stalin, resulted in the expulsion of Trotsky and the Left Opposition from the Communist Party in 1927 and his exile to Alma Ata in Central Asia early in 1928. Then came the expulsion to Turkey early the next year. Thus began their second long period of exile — Turkey, France, Norway and finally Mexico.

Natalia's strength of character and indomitability were never more evident than in the mid-1930's. In this period she was a tower of moral strength for her husband whose tremendous will power and fortitude were shaken by the severest test. This was the period of the great purges in Russia, the monstrous frame-ups. Trotsky's first wife, his two daughters by her, and their husbands, fell victim to Stalin. Leon Sedov, the oldest son of Trotsky and Natalia, died under mysterious circumstances with all signs pointing to the GPU, Stalin's secret police. Their younger son, Sergey, a scientist, apathetic to politics, who had chosen therefore to stay with his wife in the Soviet Union, disappeared into Stalin's prisons.

Finally, Mexico under President Cardenas offered the Trotskys political asylum. Trotsky's failing

health improved and in a resurgence of energy there now followed some of the most productive years of his life. It was a race against time to found a new international revolutionary movement and to make Marxist analyses of the degeneration of the USSR and prognoses for its regeneration. Both he and Natalia — and many others — realized that huge forces were being deployed and tremendous sums of money expended by Stalin to bring about his murder.

Coyoacan

During the night of May 24, 1940 an attempt was made in a military operation employing scores of men dressed in police uniforms, utilizing machine guns, incendiary bombs, and highly specialized equipment. Led by David Alfaro Siqueiros, the well-known Stalinist artist who had been a colonel in the Spanish civil war, the trained GPU squads, broke into the walled yard of Trotsky's Coyoacan home, held off possible interference with streams of machine-gun fire while two detachments made for Trotsky's bedroom.

From two sides they poured machine-gun fire into the room, riddling the bed and the walls. It seemed impossible that anybody within could live. But Natalia, awakening at the first noise, had pulled her husband to the floor in a corner and there protecting him and little Seva, Trotsky's grandson, with her own body, they waited out the murderous attack. Miraculously only Seva was wounded and that slightly. The GPU however, carried off the guard, Robert Sheldon Harte, a young American socialist, who had been on duty that night at the gate. His murdered body was later dug up by the police at the gang's abandoned hideout.

But Stalin's failure of May 24 was made good on Aug. 20, when the GPU agent, who called himself Jason, drove a pickaxe into Trotsky's brain.

Natalia thus survived her husband by 21 years. They were years of loneliness. One bright spot was the marriage of Seva, her step-grandson, and the arrival of four little daughters in the family. Natalia had moments of true happiness as she walked with these little toddlers around the house and garden.

In this period political disagreements sometimes arose between Natalia and the movement her husband had founded, for example, with the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S. But this never altered the respect or affection or material support which the movement tendered her.

New York Visit

In 1957 Natalia visited New York. On an earlier trip to Paris she had been denied permission by the U.S. even to leave that section of New York's Idlewild airport reserved for undesirable aliens in transit. Thus permission to visit the U.S. made her very happy.

But the U.S. Immigration authorities had a string on their kind offer: she was to have a "conversation" with Rep. Walter of the House Un-American Activities Committee. She need not say anything in particular to him, indeed it could be a private meeting of a few minutes duration.

When American friends and the leaders of the SWP explained the nature of the reactionary, headline-hunting Un-American Committee and how it would exploit her merest meeting with Walter, she made her refusal known to Walter's intermediary. She was thereupon immediately and brutally ordered out of the country.

Natalia lived long enough to see the beginning of the end of Stalinism. She did all within her power to hasten this process.

BOOK REVIEW

A Remarkable Socialist Testament

IN THE MIDST OF LIFE. By Thomas Bell. 275 pp. New York: Antheneum, 1961. \$4.50.

A year ago on Jan. 17, 1961 Thomas Bell died in a small town in Northern California. His anniversary should not pass unnoticed. He was, in the best socialist sense, "one of ours."

Many months before his end he knew that he was afflicted with an inoperable malignant cancer and his thread of life would soon be cut.

Philosophers have often lauded "the life of reason." Tom Bell not only directed his life but his death according to the highest standards of reason.

As a novelist by profession, he resolved to deal with the last chapter of his mortal career by recording the progress of his fatal disease and his reaction to its effects upon himself and those dear and near to him.

His comments are contained in this small, posthumously published work, *In the Midst of Life*. This journal of a dying man is one of the most remarkable productions of recent years by an American writer. There is no sentimentality, no moaning or groaning in it. But there is uncommon honesty, clarity, wit and a steady beat of emotion appropriate to his theme.

A work occupied with the painful and grim details of dying could hardly be expected to affirm the joys of life and the worth of the human adventure. Yet that is the main impression of this book. The reader shares the writer's pride and exultation in conquering the doom pronounced by nature by creating this monument to his experience.

Tom Bell was a materialist, an atheist and a socialist. "It's certainly startling to reflect," he wrote, "that during the late years of the benighted nineteenth century a famous orator — how old-fashioned radio and TV have made that title! — who was also a high-ranking member of the Republican party and a successful lawyer, used to fill large halls with audiences that came to hear him, that even paid to hear him, attack organized religion. It's unbelievable. Why if such a meeting were held today — provided its sponsors

could find another Bob Ingersoll and someone willing to rent them a hall — one feels that the FBI would be out in force; the Immigration Department would be present sniffing out possible deportees, the Bureau of This would be taking down the license number of every car parked in the vicinity and the Bureau of That tape-recording every word uttered, while hidden cameras photographed one and all.

"Question: Has any society long survived after the secret police, the priests and generals took over? I don't know history too well but I doubt it. Religion

and militarism — of which latter the secret police is but another arm — are invariably fatal. They are the death rattle in the throat. American capitalism is doomed. But then so am I, and I keenly regret that I shall almost certainly be the first to go."

He has gone, leaving behind the vivid image of a courageous, balanced, dignified character shaped and inspired by socialist objectives. If you care to make posthumous acquaintance with one of the finest Americans of our generation, read this last testament of Thomas Bell.

William F. Warde

The Art of Public Speaking

Apart from the merits of the arguments on either side, the current controversy about the censoring of army officers' speeches has shed some fresh light on the mentality of both the brass hats and their censors.

On Jan. 24 a Senate subcommittee probing the question released some passages from original speeches by Lieut. Gen. Arthur G. Trudeau and the changes that were made. Here are a few samples.

ORIGINAL: Here is a demonstration from our tropical testing to prepare us for the kind of terrain we face in Laos — in Central America — and in Cuba.

CHANGE (by State Dept.): Here is a demonstration from our tropical testing to prepare us for the kind of terrain we face in possible brush-fire areas of the world.

ORIGINAL: And fear stalks all parts of the world as peoples everywhere dread the day of possibility when thermonuclear power will by design or miscalculation break loose and wreck havoc on all nations.

CHANGE: And fear stalks all parts of the world as peoples everywhere dread the day of possibility when thermonuclear power could, by design of some foreign aggressor, break loose and wreck havoc upon all nations. (In mak-



Eisenhower says don't muzzle generals.

ing this change, the State Dept. commented: "The possibility of nuclear war by miscalculation is a favorite theme of Russian 'scare' propaganda, often using statements by prominent Americans.")

ORIGINAL: On such theories socialism survives.

CHANGE: The department suggested this be deleted, commenting, "Some of our best friends are socialists."

It Was Reported in the Press

U-2, Kennedy? — "The U.S. swore off flying U-2's over Russia; the official pledge still holds. But friendly foreign pilots visit a U-2 base in Texas. Other crafts, less visible to radar, harder to shoot down may be in the works." — The Jan. 26 *Wall Street Journal*.

Survive — Or Else! — Recipients of public welfare in British Columbia, Canada, have been told to take a government "survival" course or be cut off welfare. A letter to relief recipients said: "It will be necessary for you to apply for admittance to the civil defense course before any further assistance can be issued."

Liberal Democrat at Work — Senator Wayne Morse, the widely touted liberal Democrat from Oregon, is one of four congressmen who participated in the OAS meeting at Punta del Este. On Jan. 25 Morse boycotted an official reception by the Brazilian delegation. Brazil has refused to bow to the U.S. demand for an all-out attack on Cuba.

Chicago Sit-Ins — Chicago police have been arresting NAACP-led demonstrators who sat-in at Burnside School in protest against the transfer of Negro students from the school, which is integrated, to another school that is largely Negro. On Jan. 17, City Judge Joseph J. Butler dismissed

trespassing charges against 16 demonstrators. "Instead of just talking, the sit-ins are doing something," the judge declared, "and I'm all for them. . . . It is a good mode of expression."

Don't Get Sick in Jail — Urging a higher salary scale for the medical staff of the New York City prison system, Correction Commissioner Anna Kross said: "Except in rare cases the only physicians that can be hired at the present rates are those too old for active office practice, those with unfortunate personalities and those physically or mentally handicapped."

Good Citizenship Lesson — The Wellesley, Mass., High School Student Council voted 28-2 not to conduct an election of a student "good citizen" delegation to the state convention of the Daughters of the American Revolution. A student council resolution charged the DAR with racial bias and described the organization as "a narrow-minded group" that "did not support the ideals of the students."

Champion of 'American Way' — Maryland Senator Frederick M. Malkus says he will oppose a bill in the state legislature that would bar discrimination in public places. "It's not a question of race or integration," Malkus said, "but a question of taking a man's

property rights away." Such rights, he added, are essential to the survival of capitalism and when you start taking them away "you are establishing a dangerous precedent."

Our Rational Society — "BOLOGNA, Italy, Jan. 17 (AP) — City Registry officials of Castel Del Rio said today that after a prolonged argument they had talked a farmer out of naming his newborn son Odiolaguerra, which means I Hate War. The officials told him Italian law did not permit giving children names that were 'ridiculous, irreverent or immoral.' 'What's ridiculous, irreverent or immoral about hating war?' the farmer asked before he agreed reluctantly to call the boy Angelo."

Slightly Coercive Tactics — "The National Labor Relations Board ordered the Cone Brothers Construction Co. of Tampa, Fla., yesterday to quit threatening to shoot down employees 'like a covey of birds.' The board held such threats had been made during a 1960 union organizing drive." — From a Jan. 12 Associated Press report.

Fact of the Week — "... the number of people looking for work . . . is bound to affect the terms on which people go to work." — George Shea in the *Wall Street Journal*.

The Kremlin Vs. Albania

Cleveland, Ohio
The editorial position of *The Militant* regarding the Soviet diplomatic break with Albania was, it seems to me, in serious contradiction with the principles for which the paper stands.

Under the heading, "Moscow's Break With Albania," (*Militant*, 12/18/61) the editorial states: "Regardless of motivation, the Kremlin exposure and denunciation of the savagely repressive regime in Albania furthers the process of democratization within the Soviet bloc and the Communist Parties internationally." It then goes on to speak of some positive developments in the de-Stalinization campaign and of the need for free fraternal discussion of the various tendencies in the world Marxist movement.

The first sentence of the editorial would seem to indicate a welcoming of the rupture of relations with Albania. But if this were not the meaning, it is a fact that nowhere does the editorial forthrightly condemn the diplomatic break.

Albania's primary "crime" vis-à-vis the Soviet leadership is not its "Stalinist" or "savagely repressive" government (there are plenty of other "savagely repressive" governments with whom diplomatic relations have never been severed); rather it is the fact that the Albanian party openly opposes the Khrushchev theory of peaceful coexistence and has aligned itself with the Chinese.

The real "exposure" and "denunciation" of Stalinism in this situation requires the Soviet Union to maintain relations with Albania, with the Albanian leadership having the opportunity to fully participate in all conferences and congresses of the socialist countries and to freely present its point of view.

What is taking place instead is an all-out effort to isolate Albania politically and economically and to bring the Hoxha government to its knees. This is perfectly obvious as we witness the diplomatic break by other East European countries and the cessation of economic aid. Did *The Militant* forewarn of such developments and condemn the splitting attack? It did not!

De-Stalinization — a process which all democratic socialists enthusiastically support — will not be implemented by Stalinist methods.

Jerry Gordon

[The editorial referred to addressed itself to one aspect of the Kremlin's break with Albania — the charge that Albania had committed the "crime" of circulating its viewpoint within the Soviet Union. We denounced this "justification" for the attack on Albania as a form of thought-control completely incompatible with the rising sentiment among the people of the Soviet bloc for a return to the norms of Leninist democracy.

Since the editorial did not deal specifically with the issue of the diplomatic break as such, we can see that it could be subject to misinterpretation. On this question, we agree with the general viewpoint expressed by Jerry Gordon in his letter.—EDITOR.]

Triple-Chinned Bureaucrats

Glens Falls, N. Y.
In the Dec. 25 *Militant*, Mr. Dobbs says in his review of Mr.

Thought for the Week

"Our government concerned as always with the welfare of its beloved subjects has . . . issued a 46-page pamphlet titled *Fallout Protection: What to Know and Do About Nuclear Attack*. . . . Nothing, I should think, more markedly exposes the irresponsibility, the indifference, and the duplicity of the Government's civil-defense program than this pamphlet. . . . It is a contemptible public relations hoax. It is designed to make you think you have a chance when in fact you have none."—Science writer James R. Newman in a letter to the *Washington Post*.

Letters from Our Readers

Barkin's booklet on the unions that "he (Mr. Barkin) sets as labor's goal to make private enterprise function more equitably and humanely." An excellent goal, no doubt. But even if the unions did succeed in organizing women, Negroes, Puerto Ricans, white collar and low-waged service employees, etc., they would still have a very powerful force with which to contend and which would seem to always have the whip hand.

In the same issue is a picture of President McDonald of the United Steel Workers winking happily at Mr. Clifford Hook, one-time head of the U.S. Steel Corp. Some years ago I read an article by the late Louis Adamic in which he described what he called "AFL Big Shots" as follows:

"Prosperous-looking, Babbit-like, middle-aged or elderly men, well-dressed, carefully barbered, fat-cheeked, double and triple-chinned, big-tummied, breezy, genial individuals, professional good fellows, salaries ranging from \$7,500 to \$20,000 a year 'and expenses.' Prosperity or depression, their salaries never stop. When they gather in hotel rooms during conventions, they talk of stocks, bonds, bull and bear markets and short-selling. They compare notes on Chryslers and Buicks, and private schools for their children. Some are powerful in local and state politics. They are solid citizens, go-getters, full of upper-class respectable pretensions and ambitions. . . . In the convention hall they all look as important as they can, while listening to speeches in favor of beer and against strikes."

From what I have read of AFL-CIO officials, it would seem that they were about the same in all the essential respects as their predecessors. What labor needs is another Eugene Debs, but I guess there isn't any.

K.M.G.

Reuther on Drug Prices

Seattle, Wash.
I see where Walter Reuther made a statement to a Senate committee Jan. 18 criticizing high drug prices. To get lower prices, he suggested "drastic action" to bring about competition among the drug monopolists.

How about some "drastic action" to lower medical costs by establishing socialized medicine in this country? Or is that too radical for Brother Reuther?

Union Member

A Query on Natalia Trotsky

London, England
The Jan. 24 issue of the international edition of the *New York Times* carried an obituary of Natalia Trotsky which included this equivocal paragraph:

"In April, 1957, Mme. Trotsky was admitted temporarily to the United States 'for governmental purposes.' Washington reportedly felt that Trotsky's widow could supply United States intelligence with much background on Soviet and international communism."

There was no further elaboration. Has this been noted in other editions, and/or commented on?

Subscriber

[The same paragraph was included in the New York edition of the *Times*. For the actual facts see George Lavan's article on Natalia Trotsky in this issue.—EDITOR.]